/349 cont./

556 [535] [437] tendency to estimate the value of objects in cows. For example, a loom with a nearly finished poncho was offered to me "for a cow," and the owner of the loom could not understand that it was difficult for me to convert the exchange into money.

267 [251] Charqui, or meat dried in the sun, most often replaces fresh meat in the menus of our Indians. It is not a question of preference, but of necessity. Charqui is cheap and is bought in any estancia.

Fishing

221 226 When I went through the Chiriguano villages of the upper Pilcomayo and the Parapití, the rivers were in flood, the corn was ripening in the fields, and no Indian wanted to let the parrots eat his corn in order to go to catch fish at the risk of getting himself carried off by the current. If I had come back to these same villages in July or August, the scene would have been completely different. The rivers would have been only thin trickles of water, and in every direction I should have perceived men /350/ and women busy fishing. The fishing season would have been at its height.

[478] The Chiriguano, having come from a country rich in watercourses, have in this respect preserved the traditions of their ancestors of the Paraná or the Paraguay.

226 Some, equipped with large landing nets (Fig. 18), form barriers against the current and advance, gathering the fish as if with a spoon. Then they grab them and attach them to their belts, after /Fig. 18 appears here/ threading them on a cord by means of a wooden needle (Fig. 19). Others lie in wait for a fish in the water and, as it goes by, impale it with an arrow equipped with several points (Fig. 20) or simply with two long, barbed wooden rods. Some, with the help of stone barriers, try to make the fish converge toward the opening of a wicker trap (1). Sometimes a group of individuals turn aside a

[229] [482]

1. Compare Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 280)x "in summer (the Chiriguano) divert a stretch of the river: they leave the fish in the drained

/399 cont./

195 648 [266] [443]

acted as masters and lords of the land, even to collecting a tax from the Chicha Indians. If they did not agree to this, they ate them and even had public meat markets for human flesh.'" /Translated from the Spanish./

195 197 648 [528] [126]

Chicha women certainly shared the fate of the Chané women reduced to slavery by the bellicose Chiriguano and, like them, brought the secrets of their civilization to their masters. On the upper Pilcomayo I acquired a vessel (Plate XXV), a Panpipe (Fig. 67), and a T-shaped ax (Plate XXIII, 1), found not far from the village of Ibopeyti, well within Chiriguano country. These objects reveal either the existence in this place of an ancient Andean population, Chicha or some other one, which the Chiriguano may have annihilated or assimilated, or active commercial exchanges. In the absence of concrete evidence, the influence of the neighboring Andean tribes would have been demonstrated by the very style of the pottery of this region, which more than that of any other point in Chiriguano territory continues a tradition peculiar to the peoples of southern Bolivia.

●439 439

Even today the Chiriguano receive from the half-breed descendants of the Chicha silver objects which probably used to be the object of an age-old traffic, and turquoise beads the latter unearth from the /Plate XXV appears here/ /399/ graves of their ancestors. On their part the Chiriguano go to sell ostrich plumes and pieces of basketry to the half-breeds and Quichua Indians.

191 192

Southern Bolivia is very little known from an archeological point of view. The few excavations which have been carried out there testify that the culture peculiar to the Humahuaca valley continues without appreciable modification. The homogeneity of the civilization which flourished in these vast regions will be even more apparent on the day when the decision is made to undertake the systematic study of this immense territory which includes all the altiplano to the north of the Argentinian frontier and the valleys which form the spurs of the Andes at the edge of the Chaco. It is already evident

[Text Continues on P. 193]

/441 cont./

Everything thus leaves us to suppose that, in the early period of their settling on the western confines of the Bolivian Chaco, the Chiriguano procured by barter the carrying nets intended to replace the back baskets they had used until then. It was only later that they learned to make them themselves, adopting only the simplest and easiest of techniques besides. Thanks to this example we can catch alive the causes which have motivated the adoption of a new cultural element after the disappearance of another which rendered the same services. For that, two factors have come into play, the physical environment and the ethnic one. There was adaptation and borrowing at the same time. This fact also proves that a relatively civilized people never hesitates to appropriate the inventions of more barbaric tribes when they find some advantage in it.

The present poverty of the basketwork industry among the Chiriguano does not imply that it is insignificant and worthless. Perhaps before the decline of this nation it was more widely represented in each village. I was able to observe that the disappearance of basketwork /442/ went along with the influence of the white men. But, for the reasons I have given above, I do not believe that at any time there could have been found among the Chiriguano that abundance of objects made of basketwork which travelers noted among the Indians of Guiana or the Amazon basin. Formerly, when the ancestors of the Chiriguano were still living in Paraguay and Brazil, they possessed basketwork identical with that of the tribes inhabiting the regions I have alluded to. Proof of it is furnished by the survival among the modern Chiriguano of various types of baskets, fire fans, and sieves, of which we find /Fig. 101 appears here/ the exact equivalent only in Guiana and the Amazon basin. As we shall ascertain in the course of this study, the identity between these two ethnic areas is perfect from this point of view. The only difficulty is to know whether in this case it is a matter of the remains of an industry peculiar to the Chané Indians of Arawak origin, whose influence upon the Chiriguano was considerable, or whether this basketwork only continues that of the ancient Guarani emigrants. In my opinion the question does not need to be asked. The basketwork of the

/190 cont./

292 The Chiriguano, when he is dressed in these skins, considers himself a grandee, and he is one before his companions and the caciques themselves. But from the beginning, even before it is even worn, such clothing gives off a very disagreeable odor, like that of the soles of shoes. Let the reader imagine what it must be like when it has been used for some time. It can easily be understood that the Chiriguano, when [296] wearing the doublet, has nothing else on his body, and that all of the sweat, etc. sticks to it, and it should be noted that the outfit is never washed, which adds to the smell.

[622] [997] /191/ The cacique Nambi of Ivu made his visits to the P.P.C.C. of Santa Rosa Mission to ask for a mission in his town, dressing himself in his old and filthy doublet before making the visit. He embraced the missionaries and talked quite close to them, the result being almost unbearable (1).

1. The outfit is completed by a pair of boots called Timainu, which literally means: companion of the shin bone. These are necessary [224] for hunters so that they will not hurt their legs when they are pursuing wild animals.

The illustration that I put at the beginning of this chapter /see p. 255/ will make the description of the Ambícuai more easily understood. There appear in it a young man and an old man standing, a woman sitting on a chair, and a young girl sitting on the ground. The old man dressed in a doublet is the cacique Güiraesa of Santa Rosa; the woman who is seated on the chair is his wife, the man on his right is his son Yándareca, and the girl is his Christian daughter, named Prisca.

[291] The Chiriguano who does not have a doublet is satisfied with his long poncho or with a blanket wrapped around his body down to his knees, but today it is rare that he cannot dress himself moderately well with some six varas of linen, [432] [439] which at the most will cost him two bolivianos. Today everything can be bought in the small retail stores (2).

2. The doublet is used today in some areas to

/194 cont./

302 The flower of the Guambero, purslane, has the same properties as the carasapa, but it is little used, and they content themselves with just sticking the leaves on their faces, and this only at carnival time, the result being a gay set of dancers. Finally, the Indians have a fourth cosmetic, which they call Mboiurucu, or achiote of the viper. It is red, and they assert that it is food for the viper, hence its name. They use it by rubbing it on their cheeks, which makes them a bright red.

292 [529] [178] As noted above, the ancient Chiriguano man, Ava, and the Chiriguano woman of long ago, Cuña, at solemn fiestas and on days /195/ of general rejoicing, after having adorned their faces and washed their persons, wore the tiru and the mandu, respectively (1).

1. If the Indian dressed in a tiru does not have breeches, guasupi timbiao, he wraps his body from the waist down with a shorter poncho which comes to the calf. It is also of cotton, and the women weave it. It is called Tirupeé, or sheath that warms, "alias" wrap /abrigo/.

[286] [462]

The Tiru is a kind of long poncho, from which it differs because of the two openings that it has near the wrists; the hands are put into said openings and remain free for movement, and, the tiru fastened to the wrists, nothing impedes the motion of the one wearing it. It is spun and woven by the women, and the raw material is cotton. The tiru differs in color, some are black, others dark red, and others blue. The first color is obtained with black mud, Tuñúú, mixed with the resin of the algarroba, Piari; the second, with sotillo bark, Urundeibusu; and the third, with wild indigo, Caogüi (2).

[286] 292 386 [824]

2. Today this is all purchased commercially, and the indigo plant, which is abundant in certain places, is ignored. They buy the indigo and the other colors, just as they buy for their poncho and their tipoi.

● [437] [178]

/197 cont./

301 562 [437] These are of ten-centavo or five-centavo pieces, but they try to have them all alike. From what has been said it can be seen that the necklaces that the women wear are modern, brought by traders, especially peddlers (2).

2. Today neither medios nor reales of pure silver are found, but the Chiriguano Indian women make their necklaces with medios and reales of nickel. These are satisfactory, but the former were better.

301 184 Modern necklaces are common and also worn by the neophytes, but they do not wear bracelets, which are suitable only for the infidels. They make a long string of small blue beads and wrap it around /198/ their wrists, taking care to be sure that each turn is tight and close to the previous one, and so on with the rest which follow.

291 301 186 177 The Chiriguano, because he is proud, does not lower himself to wearing the adornments of neighboring tribes which are inferior to him, but he does easily adapt himself to wearing the clothing and adornments of races which are superior to him. He does not lower himself to wearing bird feathers, to scarring his face and arms, to wearing wooden earrings, like the Toba and others, but he imitates and attempts to surpass his superiors, the whites, by dressing himself like them, the men wearing the fine hat and the women wearing the wool and silk manta, the young men the footwear and boot, and the maidens foreign earrings. Hence, tiny little girls at the moment they are born have the ear lobe pierced, so that in time, even before they begin to walk, the mother can put a pair of earrings on them, while none of the old women whom I know wears earrings in her ears. This is a sure sign that they never wore ornaments in them, and thus, if the modern Chiriguano women wear them, it is because they have seen women and maidens who came from civilized centers or were born there.

/251 cont./

Other Comestibles

226 184 After this digression I return with an account of comestibles in order to end the chapter now. The Indian finds in everything goodness and sweetness for his molars. He is very eager for fish, [437] but not all the tribes have it nearby; when they learn that there is fish in abundance on the banks of the big rivers, they travel as far as 150 kilometers to barter; they take maize or meal and trade it for fish. Those who live on the river banks are valiant fishermen, with no distinction by sex; they fish with hooks, staying in the water for hours, but they know with great sensitivity when the fish has taken the bait into its stomach; others fish with nets, which they have in every size, as I have seen on the Parapiti River, as well as on the Pilcomayo, near the Pirapo toward the west (2).

[438] [435] [431] 2. The Indians who bring fish back to their tribes do business, selling them at 10 and 20 centavos each; they also eat them and present them to friends and relatives.

226 Others make large baskets of hollow cane, open at a single point, put them in the river, and the fish go in without being able to get out; these baskets are called Pari. Along the rivers I even saw two lines of rocks sticking out of the water and ending /252/ in an angle, where the water forms a small waterfall. There, at the angle, they put a big net or other apparatus and catch many fish. They call this apparatus Itapare; even the carcancho /a bird/ will place itself at the angle and have a breakfast of fresh fish.

Finally, at waterfalls eight or ten meters high, they place close by a big net which gets all the smaller or medium-sized fish, since the big ones go up and down easily, while the former fall into the net; in the places where the fish are small, they divert the course of the stream and thus manage to catch all those which are left without their element.

/279 cont./

727 Those who are older, men and women, surround the poor prisoners and insult them until they are tired, recriminate against them for the war, to which their husbands may have given rise, mock once more the memory of the dead men who did not know how to defend their town, calling them men of no courage, good only for women's work, good only for making chicha, and when they are tired of talking, the festivities begin with drinking, dancing, and singing, with which they celebrate their splendid victory.

The prisoners remain silent, do not raise their heads, do not say a word, and even refuse to eat food if it is offered them. They cannot oppose the brutal acts of their conquerers, who would put an end to their lives if they attempted to do such a thing. 797 The last war of Curuyuqui is still living proof of what has been 727 said, but happily many unfortunate women had help in their misery because of the presence of the missionary (2).

2. When the defenseless damsels understood the intention of their masters, they ran away, making a joke of the vigilance of those brutes, entered the school as a last refuge, and learned religion.

727 During the days of celebration and afterward, they start [525] playing their dice game, and they wager the prisoners, who are no good to them, among whom are the mature women, boys and children under seven, and an occasional girl whose new owner does not need her. When they are tired of them, they barter them or [437] [438] sell them for nothing, for a sheep, a goat, /280/ a hat. The sale or barter is not done in the town of the conquerers, but in others farther away. Thus it happens that many innocent boys and girls may find there relatives who would pay even more than what is asked for them.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

Ce 252 415 *171 [412]

that they fanned the flour. They had no proper sieves. As we have seen from the table, the Chaco tribes have no basket-sieves, but use bag-nets instead.

Mandioca-graters do not occur among the Chiriguano and the Chané.

Ce Ce 252 415 273

Of course the Chiriguano and the Chané cook their food in earthern ware. Maize-beer »Chicha», their chief food, is boiled in large vessels. It is only with great difficulty that these can be moved from one place to another[1]). Some of the Chiriguano occasionally allow the maize-beer to ferment in hollow stumps of the bottle-tree.

C Ce 252 415

The steam cooking-pot shown here (fig. 16) is of very great interest. It is used by the Chané and Chiriguano in cooking a certain dish of maize, the »huintimimmo».[2])

I have seen this contrivance being used as shown by the illustration, but I have, unfortunately, not tasted the maize-dish that was cooked in it.

Ce Ce 252 415 *171

In literature dealing with other parts of S. America I have only found this steam cooking pot mentioned by ULLRICH[3]) from the Rio Grande do Sul (Munizip Pelotas).

He there found pieces of »Siebtöpfen» and says that they were used on the top of a cooking-pot. ULLRICH[3]) tells us that these steam-cooking-pots were used by the

Ce Ce [172] [437]

[1]) When fragments of very large and heavy earthenware vessels are found in archæological excavations one may, as a rule, presume that they originate from a permanently settled tribe. It may be assumed with perfect certainty that these very large vessels were made at the spot where they are found. Small earthen pots may, however, have been bartered from some other tribe. This is naturally of a certain interest if we wish to distinguish between native and imported pottery found in archæological excavations. — Some of the Chiriguano at the Rio Parapiti make only the big common clay vessels themselves and get the small, painted pots by barter from other Chiriguano Indians.

[2]) CORRADO when speaking of different dishes of maize says that *»el huintimimmo, especie de torta muy tierna hecha con harina de maiz humedecida y blandamente dispuesta en una tortera agujereada y cocida con baño del agua caliente.»* P. 42.

[3]) P. 500.

8:Nordenskiöld E-8 4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

the ornamental design not always so (fig. 26). It is difficult to decide whether the idea of the pincer as a mere breast ornament is due only to the influence of non-Indian smiths or not. Most likely the pincer was turned into mere ornament by the makers, who presumably used it as an article of barter and then increased its size in order to make it more and more coveted by the Indians. At last the makers themselves may even have been quite ignorant of its original use. Consequently we cannot be wrong in considering the »boivéra» an original Indian element of culture which has been transformed under the influence of

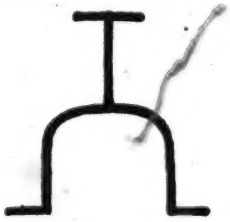


Fig. 27. Figure tattooed on the arm of a old Chiriguano Indian. ! Caipipendi. $^1/_1$.

the Whites. There is no doubt that the pincer is a cultural element derived from the old culture zone in the west. They are, as we know, quite common in collections from that part. The Chiriguano also sometimes use a piece of split reed for removing hair.

Tattooing occurs here, but is very rarely seen. I have only seen two Chiriguano women and one old Chiriguano man with tattooing on their arms. The old man had the figure depicted here (fig. 27) tattooed on his arm. If I understood him rightly, it used in old times to be quite common for the Chiriguano-men to be tattooed in the same way. I have seen no tattooed Chané men or Chané women. I have already given an account of the distribution of tattooing in S. America in the first part of this book.

C /151 cont./
123 In Tihuïpa I opened a regular /152/ small produce
439 store for a few days. Indian men and women, especially the latter, crowded around the shop counter. It was a

Ce
142
291

Fig. 76. Chané Indian.
Rio Parapiti.

C
123 peculiar shop. If an Indian woman came there with money
439 in order to buy something, she was politely sent away by
[439] the clerk, but if she came with an attractive old clay vessel,
she became the happy owner of corals, fire-red ribbons,

/152 cont./
earrings with real "diamonds," rings with "sapphires," or other fine things, which she could then show off at the next drinking bout. 123 439 437

There are always two villages in these mission stations, one for the heathens, one for the Christians. I myself always felt more comfortable in the former, and this not only because more fine, old things were to be collected there, but also because the people there were friendlier, more tactful, and more polite in their behavior. The mission children were importunate and impudent. 361 797

Near Machareti there is a large basin-shaped valley through which flows a little brook that probably swells to a roaring river after a violent tropical rain and disappears in the wilderness of the Chaco. Quite near the mission it leaves the handsomely dissected mountains, where small petroleum springs trickle out everywhere in the crevices of the cliffs. Then it flows through a hilly landscape that gradually turns into the vast flat area of the Chaco. The vegetation in these regions is not very luxuriant. The woodland, when such is present, is sparse, low, shrubby, and monotonous. The fields seem to produce abundant harvests, the droughts seldom too long. These regions are often devastated by huge swarms of locusts. I have seen these destructive animals cover the woodlands like large, reddish-brown clouds. 133 [135] 137 241 731 136

From Machareti we went by way of Itatiqui, a very interesting Chiriguano village in an arid region, to the Rio Parapiti. 114

The latter comes from Pomabamba and Sauzes, from the /153/ mountains of the Quichua /Quechua/ Indians. After it has left these, in the rainy season, it is a roaring stream overflowing its banks. In the dry season it carries little water. The Rio Parapiti also ends in the Chaco. During the rainy season it is lost in the swamps; in the dry season it disappears in the fine sand. If the Rio Parapiti parades on the maps, as the southernmost tributary of the Amazon River, this is only empty boasting on its part. The woodlands along the Rio Parapiti consist mostly of bushes and low, fine-leaved trees, caraguata, and cacti. 133 137

/154 cont./

One might be surprised that a person would want to live in this treeless valley, where one finds only salty, dirty water, but in the Caipipendi valley one need not drink water, for here the maize yields magnificent harvests and there is never a shortage of maize beer. The inhabitants of the Caipipendi valley are wealthy, and if there is famine in other regions, the Indians come from afar to these kinsmen, in order to barter their valuables for maize.

For the collector, too, it is a magnificent valley. We found silver ornaments, silver bowls, finely carved musical instruments, and many other rare articles in this ethnographer's paradise. Stone axes, ruins, diggings /Grabfelder/ of various peoples prove that the Caipipendi valley has long been highly prized by the Indians.

The water has cut deeply into this valley. In the rainy season it probably rains there too.

From Caipipendi I returned over the mountains, through a /155/ valley famous for its hot springs and its beauty, to Charagua, to continue then along the Andes in the direction of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

It was October, 1908. Not quite a year later, in July, 1909, I again visited the Chaco, after extensive river journeys far beyond, on the border of Brazil. In another book I shall describe these journeys on large, navigable rivers and through virgin forests whose luxuriant green is overpowering.

From Santa Cruz de la Sierra I returned, as was said, to the Chaco in July, 1909. I then traveled first of all by way of the Rio Grande to the Rio Parapiti, chiefly to visit my friend Batirayu.

The Rio Grande is the southernmost tributary of the Amazon River. It comes from the highest mountains of the Andes and flows past Sucre, a city that has long contended with the city of La Paz for the rank of capital of Bolivia. When it emerges from the mountains, it is a roaring, mighty river. Farther down it has an extremely changeable, very little known course. North of Santa Cruz de la Sierra the Rio Grande receives the Rio

6: Nordenskiöld--86 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Who can paint clay vessels as Chané SF8
/236 cont./one of the wives of
C
531
[437]
Ce
531
Ec
556
531
Ce
415
412
302
142
291
252

the Chiriguano chief Maringay can? They are famous far and wide in the valleys, and everyone tries to acquire her works through barter. I, not the least, admired her sure and discriminating art. The wife of the Chané chief Vocapoy (Pl. 19) is also no dabbler.

Where the Indians are rich, that is, have large maize harvests, the pottery is beautiful. Where they are poor and the

Fig. 116. Chané girls pound maize in a mortar. Rio Parapiti.

Ec
556
531

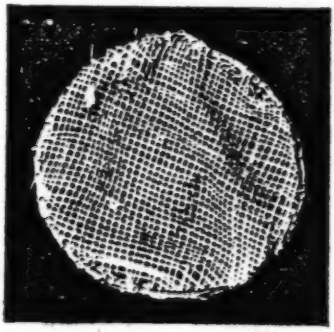
struggle for existence is hard, they do not have much time for artistic work. If art is to flourish in the Indian home, joy and mirth must prevail.

Ee /247 cont./

531 The Chiriguano and Chané men are clever in the deco-
322 ration of calabashes (Fig. 126), carve attractive pipes (Fig.
281 120), and know how to tan leather, which they probably learned
177c from the whites.

Ce Among these Indians one does not see much in the way
532 of plastic representations of animal and human figures. The
clay /248/ vessels sometimes have animal shapes. The
C Chané women on the Rio Parapiti fashioned lumpy little dolls
[126], out of wax for their children (Fig. 105). Some of the clay
●[437] vessels are painted with animal figures. A vessel from the Rio

Ce 285 →



C 285 ←

Fig. 124.
Sieve. Rio Parapiti.
1/8.

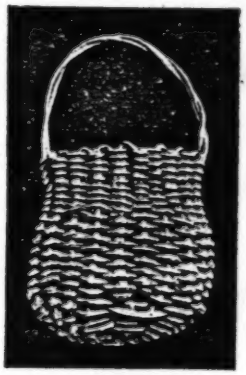


Fig. 125. Basket
Chiriguano.
Caipipendi. 1/6.

Ee
532 Itiyuro, which I acquired through barter, is adorned with tree figures. Occasionally one sees clay vessels in the shape of fruits.

Ce I saw drawings representing human beings and animals
[353] on the walls in a few Chané huts and on a few Chiriguano
Ee calabashes from the Caipipendi valley.

285 As for basket work, the sieves are so popular among the
[439] whites that through trade they are being distributed far beyond the Chiriguano and Chané region. Otherwise the Chané and Chiriguano make few baskets. We find basket work in quantities only among the Indians where the matching-leaved palms begin, and that is at Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

of 2.1 cm. It is decorated with one large and many small, turquoise-blue beads made of glass or porcelain. 301

Necklaces of stone or glass beads are worn by the women, and even men may occasionally be seen with them. One such necklace (fig. 198), which I bought of a Chiriguano Indian in the San Luis district, consists largely of pierced, cylindrical or laminate, turquois beads of exactly the same kind as I found when excavating the ancient site at Tolomosa in the Tarija valley.[1] The Chiriguano keep all stone beads they happen to pick up on the ground, and also acquire them by barter from other districts. Besides turquoise beads, there are also blue, white, and red glass-beads threaded on this necklace, which to me proved a particularly costly bargain. It is probable that such necklaces as wholly or in part are composed of ancient beads are looked upon as amulets. To this question I shall refer later, in connection with my account of the supposed magical properties of certain Choroti objects. [437]

Fig. 198. Necklace of turquoises and glass-beads. Chiriguano. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 905.

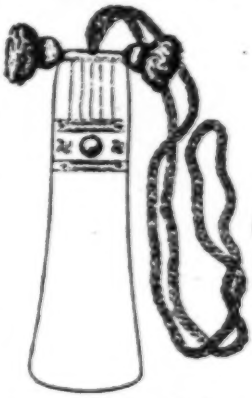


Fig. 199. Tweezer-like breast ornament of silver. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. Bolivia. 1/2. After Erl. Nordenskiöld.

[72] [789]

In the important work entitled »Comparative ethnographical studies», Erland Nordenskiöld describes, from the Chiriguano, an interesting breast ornament called »boivéra» (fig. 199), which I have not myself seen in use. It is of silver, doubled over tweezer-fashion, and worn on a string round the neck. Such tweezers, usually ornamented, are nowadays not put to any practical use, but exclusively worn as ornaments. The leaves of these tweezers are, therefore, sometimes hammered together. On good grounds Nordenskiöld advances his opinion that these ornaments originate from the small tweezers, or pincers, that, already in pre-Spanish times, were used by the Andean Indians for removing hairs of the beard, or 301 174 412 [302]

[1] von Rosen (1), p. 367 and fig. 332: 23—27.